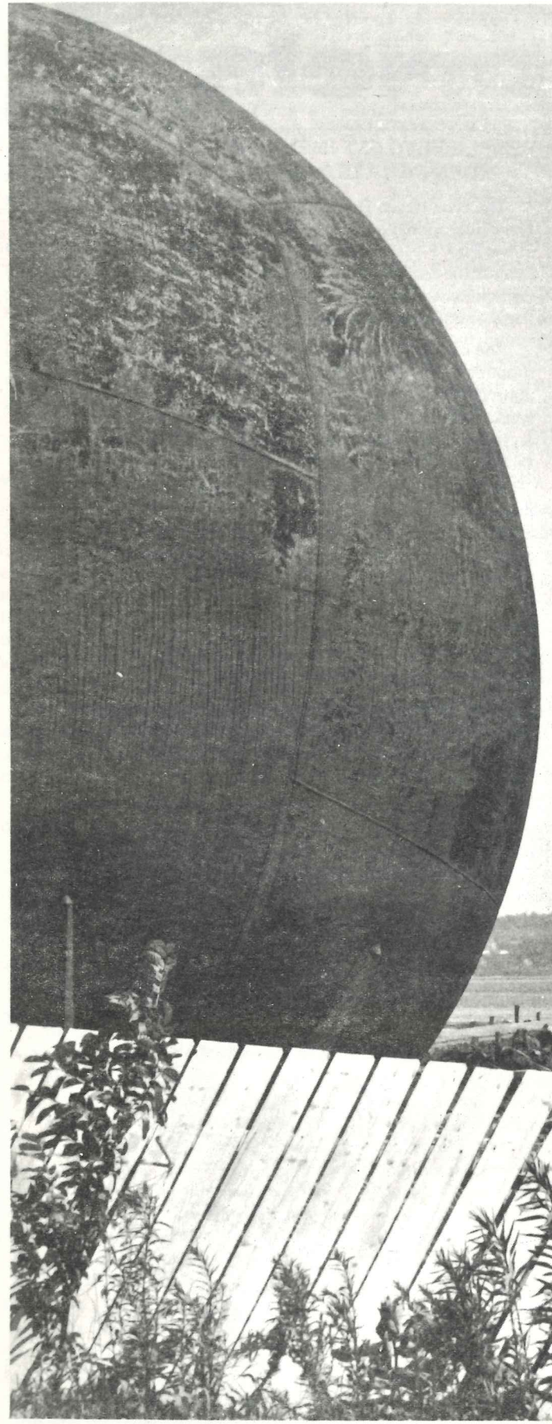

AIM

THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER
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BOBBY SEALE ARRESTED, COMMUNITY MEETING, THURSDAY, SEPT. 4

The tangled web with which the government hopes to put the Black Panther Party out of business grew tighter with the arrest of Party Chairman Bobby Seale on August 20.

A complicated maneuver by local, state and FBI agents has resulted in Seale's being held without bail in San Francisco jail on a non-existent warrent from Connecticut for a crime allegedly reported by an anonymous informer. The charges are murder, kidnapping, and (of course) conspiracy.

Depsite the fact that no warrant had been received for his arrest, and that federal charges on which he had originally been arrested were dropped, a local municipal court judge ruled that Seale be held without bail. The Panther leader was arrested at a major Berkeley intersection by 50 FBI agents with drawn guns just after leaving the wedding of Panther Minister of Education Masai Hewitt. $25,000 bail was raised on the federal charge of "flight to avoid prosecution," but Seale was immediately rearrested on the New Haven charges.

A tiny courtroom, the smallest and least accessible in San Francisco, was the scene of what may be Seale's last "public" appearance for some time. As he left the court, after having spoken only to give his name, Seale exchanged clenched-fist salutes with the 20 supporters who had managed to get in. The judge, whohad just denied Seale bail, immediately ordered the arrest of two spectators for saying "Power to the People." Both were fined five dollars and sentenced to five days in jail.

Seale's charges grow out of the death of Alex Rackley, a New York Panther found murdered near New Haven last May 21. Seale was present in New Haven to speak at Yale University. Local police officials claim to have a tape of a "kangaroo court" in which Panther members sentenced Rackley to death.

There is little chance that sufficient evidence exists to convict Seale with either murder or kidnapping, but the always vague conspiracy charges may prove difficult to defeat. In any case, his arrest and detention without bail will deprive the Party formonths, if not years, of one of itsmost effective remaining leaders. Seale is scheduled to have an extradition hearing on Sept. 25, and then join the other Panthers awaiting trial in Connecticut. Before then, the government will be trying to convict Seale in its conspiracy trials dealing with the Democratic Convention in Chicago last year. That trial begins in late September.

The crackdown against Panther leadership hasn't stopped with Seale. Among the above-ground party leaders, only Minister of Education Hewitt is now free of serious legal hassles.

—Liberation News Service

The Black Panther Party invites the people of the New Haven community to attend a meeting Thursday, Sept. 4, 8 p.m., at the Hill Black Arts Theater, 335 West Portsea St., to discuss the upcoming trial of the New Haven Panthers, the recent arrest of Chairman Bobby Seale, the free breakfast program, the Party's ten point program and platform and community problems. Movies will be shown.

PEOPLE PROTEST INEVITABLE, DEMOCRATS NOMINATE GUIDA

The New Haven Democratic Party endorsed its slate for the November municipal elections on Thursday night, August 21, at the Park Plaza Hotel. Most of the 1000 spectators came to protest the inevitable, for the outcome of the meeting was predetermined: Bartholomew Guida received the Democratic Party endorsement for Mayor of New Haven.

The ballroom of the Park Plaza Hotel was packed with supporters of Henry Parker, John Daniels, Charles Gill and John DiRienzo—all announced candidates for mayor. Several weeks before the convention, DiRienzo had declared himself an independent candidate in reaction to the "manipulative" tactics of the Democratic Party leadership (see cartoon).

Arthur Barbieri, the Democratic Town Chairman, opened the meeting by announcing that he was beginning his 17th year in that position—the longest such tenure in the history of the party in New Haven. When the booing and jeering stopped, Barbieri thanked the audience for their support. He then introduced the keynote speaker, Mayor Richard Lee.

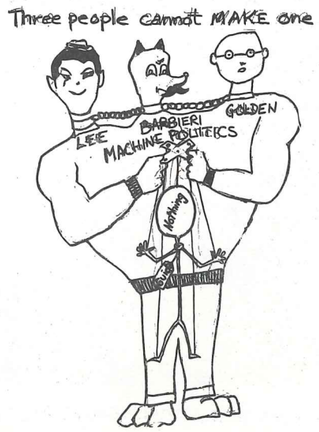
Mayor Lee's speech was frequently interrupted by boos, jeers, and cat-calls. He responded once with: "If you'll keep your mouths shut, I'll finish my speech."

Next on the agenda of the meeting was the main event—nominations for mayor. After Guida was nominated, demonstrations erupted for all the candidates at the same time. The bedlam lasted for about 20 minutes.

During the roll call a group of about 20 people were demanding access to the speaker's platform and chanting "The people want to be heard." Within minutes, several helmeted police joined the two uniformed policemen who were restraining the group. In the ensuing struggle, the police dragged two of the demonstrators across the speaker's platform. One of them was also maced.

The people demanding the platform had wanted to talk about the housing conditions in the city including the preval-

Continued on page 11



Cartoon distributed by DiRienzo supporters at convention.

YOU GOT A LONG WAY TO GO

By Frank Brodhead and Alan McKnight

This is the second part of AIM's study of the Penn Central and mass transit in which we try to present evidence that the New Haven passenger fares should not be raised.

Public hearings on the fare hike will be held in Stamford (Rippowan High School) Sept. 16, 3-5 & 7-10 pm, in Norwalk (Norwalk High) Sept. 17, 3-5 & 7-10 pm, in Bridgeport (City Hall) Sept.18, 2-5 & 7-10 pm, and in New Haven (Conte School) Sept. 19, 2-5 & 7-10 pm.

Decline in Passenger Service

In 1956, a headline in the *New York Times* ran, '2 Railways Plan Fare Rise to Deter Pullman Travel.' But this was the last chapter of an old story. As far back as 1920 the presidents of the biggest railroads in the East began to cut passenger trains from their schedules by the dozens and hundreds. 'And,' as a contemporary journalist friendly to the railroads pointed out, 'the running-times of many others have been so lengthened as to make riding upon them a dreary business indeed.' Nothing was left to chance.

Certainly passenger service has declined. In 1949, the railroads' share of people carried by public carriage was 47%. Today the railroad carries less than 15% of travellers using public transportation. And if the automobile is included, less than 2% of travellers go by train. Yet the railroads' share of the 'more lucrative' freight business has also declined: from more than 70% in 1943 to less than 43% today. In short, the railroads simply cannot compete with the other ways to carry *either* people or freight.

Why can't the railroads compete with truck, airplane, or car? The railroads say that their rivals have been favored by the government. They point to the huge subsidies for planes, airports and highways: in the 1960's, more than $1 billion per year for air transport; and $10 billion per year for highways.

These complaints are certainly true. After the Second World War the government has promoted those forms of transportation which are expensive, inefficient in using land, spectacular in choking city streets, and guaranteed to pollute the air. Yet the railroads themselves have received the largest subsidies in the history of American industry—land grants. In the state of Texas alone, the railroads received grants of land larger than the entire state of New York. By 1870 the federal government and the states had *given* the railroads about 184 million acres—about one-tenth of the land area of the continental United States.

Today there's no more land, and the railroads are asking for cash. They claim that passenger service is too expensive to continue without subsidies, that the Post Office is favoring the railroads' rivals, and that the commuter business is too inefficient to interest private enterprise anymore. Let's look more closely at these complaints.

The Phony Issue of Passenger Service Deficit

As passenger service declined after the Golden Age of World War II, the railroads hit upon their magic formula—the passenger service deficit!

The case looked good on paper. Deficits resulting from passenger service were estimated at almost a billion dollars per year by 1957. But where did the railroads and the ICC get these figures? Was the passenger service deficit really so large?

The 'passenger service deficit' is based on a formula drafted by the ICC back in 1887. It requires the railroads to file separate returns for the operating expenses for freight service and for passenger service. Expenses chargeable to both services were to be divided in proportion to the train miles of each service.

Does the formula make sense? Most people think not. When the formula was first put into use, the Association of American Railway Accounting Officers called it 'an arbitrary rule' that will 'furnish misinformation if used for any practical purpose.' Soon after, the formula was attacked by the state railway commissioners as 'grossly erroneous, not to say preposterous.' And at the ICC hearings in 1957, the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners pointed out that 'the term passenger deficit...appears to the public and others not acquainted with the rules under which expenses are assigned [to be] a total loss from operation of the passenger train service. Nothing could be more wrong because its true meaning is that of a statistical fantasia.'

Ever since 1957 the railroads themselves have been the strongest supporters of the formula. How does it work in practice? According to railroad expert Peter Lyon, 'the formula requires that the railroad companies charge their passenger service with millions of dollars of maintenance and other over head costs, all of which would still have to be paid even if every passenger train disappeared tomorrow.' But this is just what the railroads want, a 'statistical fantasia' which can be used to blackmail the public into subsidies.

The Phony Mail Issue

A common complaint of the railroads and their publicity agents is that the Post Office is partly responsible for crippling the railroads by withdrawing mail contracts. In the past mail contracts have been an important source of revenue for the railroads, but the source, like passenger service has declined over the years. In 1935 there were some 10,000 mail-carrying passenger trains. By 1959,

BEEN WORKIN' ON THE RAILROAD

When you go to work for the Penn Central, you are given a thick book of safety rules. Failure to comply with the rules, says the book, will result in disciplinary action. Yet the rules are so many, so varied, so picky and listed so inconveniently, one after the other, as if all were equally important, it is impossible to follow them to the letter.

How are the Safety Rules compiled? Management compiles them. Neither workers nor their union are asked to send representatives to help prepare the rules. Management may *pick* some members of the work force to consult or advise, but never to take part in the final decisions about the rules' contents, any more than the workers are allowed to take part in ordering machinery they will work on.

Let's be realistic. The rules are not for the workers' safety. Whenever there is an injury on the job, management can find some infraction of their rules by which to shift the blame from their dangerous and often illegal equipment onto the injured man.

Sylvan Green

however, there were fewer than 2000 passenger trains available to carry the mails, and not all of these travelled on schedules that made them attractive to the post office. As rail service deteriorated, airlines and trucking firms began to compete successfully with the railroads for mail contracts, and in January 1967, only 876 passenger trains carried mail.

The fact is that the normal practice of the railroad companies, whenever they desire to cancel mail-carrying passenger trains, is to ask the Post Office to withdraw their mail contract. They then claim that, since they no longer have the mail contract, they can no longer afford to continue passenger service. The commuters then blame the Post Office instead of the railroad.

According to Post Office figures, between 1953 and 1966 a total of 2,528 mail-carrying passenger trains had been discontinued. But 1,730 of these trains (almost 70%) were discontinued after their mail traffic had been removed *at the request of the railroads themselves.*

Competition from other forms of transportation is exaggerated by the railroads. Rails are indispensable, and their owners know it.

Trains carry loads that are simply too big for trucks and too small for ships. Trucks charge an average of 6.3 cents to move one ton one mile. Trains do it for 1.3 cents. Ships can do it for .32 of a cent but take more time and can't reach landlocked places.

Trains get an average of 192 ton-miles to the gallon of fuel. Trucks get only 58. Finally, 32 men can move by rail the same cargo it takes 110 men to move by ship and 430 men to move by truck.

Freight trains are competitive. Railroad mergers, which were long prevented by anti-trust sentiment, are now being OK'd on the grounds that bigger railroads can better compete with air, highway, and water transportation. The mergers are in fact designed to eliminate competition in railroading so that freight rates can be raised.

Back in 1913, when Charles Mellen got the New Haven into trouble trying to buy up all competing forms of transportation, his stated purpose was to be able to fix rates from the Great Lakes to the East Coast. Fixing rates is still the goal of railroaders. No matter how much service is improved, mergers of privately owned industries lead to monopoly.

Ben Heinemann, president of the Chicago and Northwestern, believes that the present mergers are only setting the stage for the supermergers of the 1980's that will create three or four giant transportation companies that will share 90–95% of the freight moving across the U.S.

The Penn Central already calls itself a 'Transportation Company,' not a Railroad. It has an interest in at least one air transport company and control of a pipe line. Other big railroads such as the Union Pacific and the Chicago Northwestern have formed holding companies and are diversifying, investing their wealth where the greatest profit is rather than improving or even providing rail service.

The Phony Commuter Train Problem

One of the railroad companies' loudest cries is that commuter service is too expensive to maintain because the trains are in use only a few hours a day. The commuter trains are in use only about 20 hours a week. And according to the railroads this is not enough business to warrant the continuation of unsubsidized passenger service.

But the real problem is chronic mismanagement. According to the companies' own statistics, their loaded *freight* cars move, on the average, only 23½ miles per day, or about 1½ hours out of every 24. So, while commuter trains are in use only 20 hours a week, and are thus 'too expensive to maintain,' the freight trains which are 'still profitable,' are used only *9 hours and 20 minutes a week!* The railroads simply cannot use their equipment effeciently even when they want to.

What Can Be Done?

Two major plans have been put forward to save the railroads. The first, officially known as the Northeast Corridor Project, was originally proposed by Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island in 1962. It envisions an eight-state public authority to own and operate a high-speed railroad passenger service between Boston and Washington. It was proposed that the system be financed by long-term, tax-exempt bonds guaranteed by the government. The plan became included in the 'Great Society' program, and $90 million was appropriated for new equipment and research.

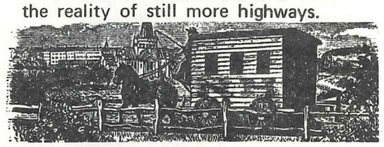
A second program, of broader scope, has been proposed by the National Association of Railroad Passengers (NARP). Formed in 1967, NARP has put forward a program to run passenger railroad service through a public corporation. Under their plan, this public corporation would acquire and maintain essential passenger equipment, which would be leased to and operated by the railroads.

Both of these proposals have drawbacks. Each of them envisions huge subsidies, falsely separates the 'passenger service deficit' from general operating expenses, and creates a new bureaucracy which has responsibility but little real control. In addition, the Pell plan proposes to remedy only inter-city travel, advancing no overall scheme to improve commuter service.

Privately owned railroads are simply out of date. No other industrialized nation developed its rail system on the basis of private ownership, and no other system is in such disrepair. The Canadian National, for example, maintains fast inter-city service at low cost. The European commuter systems are fast, efficient, and reliable. Both the Pell plan and that proposed by NARP would leave the management of passenger service in the same hands that have sacrificed the public interest to private profit.

Only a nationalized rail system would allow us to develop a rational integrated transportation system. Even with full compensation, in the long run such a project would be cheap and the social benefits enormous. Yet the railroads have already been compensated many times over for their 'right' to profit from a public service. We no longer have private fire departments, and we no longer deserve private railroads.

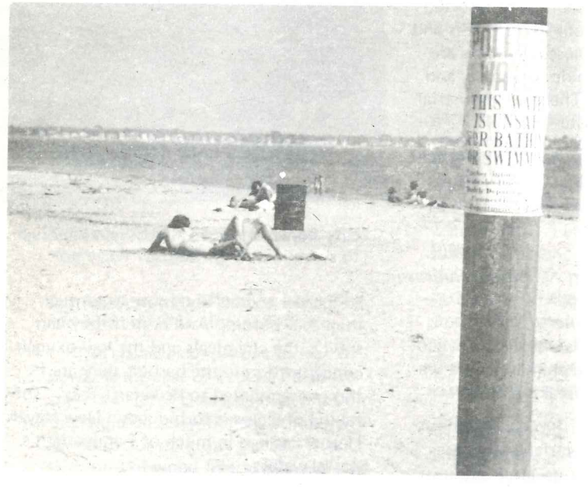
The AIM Newsletter has consistently spoken out against a highway program that displaces families, destroys neighborhoods, turns downtown areas into a wasteland of parking lots, and pollutes our air. Yet until we have an integrated transportation program—of which the railroads are a vital part—the myth of private 'enterprise' will mean the reality of still more highways.



SOURCES: Peter Lyon, To Hell in a Day Coach; Gustavus Myers, History of the Great American Fortunes; Fortune; Business Week; Nation; Saturday Review; Time

POLLUTION PERISCOPE

A Poor Man's Guide ...



Savin Rock: "Where else are you going to go? We only come down here to sunbathe."

City Point Beach: "It's all right if you don't swallow any and take a shower afterwards."

John Moulder (Photos, pp. 5-8)

To City Point and New Haven Harbor

by Tony Dominski and Alan Kay

During the past few months, the AIM Pollution Committee and the Science Action Group of New Haven have been trying to find out why the New Haven Harbor has deteriorated steadily for so many years. This article is a preliminary report. More detailed reports will appear from time to time.

How is our harbor? Just ask the people at City Point. Few of them have the courage to swim at their small, dirty 100 foot beach sandwiched between two marinas. A single mouthful of the water there contains tens of thousands of bacteria coming from the notorious City Point Sewer Plant. And the interested observer can see whole pieces of toilet paper (and other assorted objects) going out the sewer plant overflow. When the wind is right, breathing gets tough. With strong competition from Seamless Rubber, the City Point Sewer Plant qualifies as Public Enemy Number One. But let's not forget: City Point's problem is not just City Point's; the whole harbor today—including many of our swimming areas—is one vast sewer.

What's Floating Around Out There?

The New Haven sewer system, one of our major polluters, is so inadequate that about one-third of the shit and paper flushed down the toilets of New Haven eventually reaches the harbor without being treated. This potentially catastrophic state of affairs can be traced to both inefficient sewage treatment plants and to a run-down system of pipelines leading to the plants.

The sewer plants give the sewage only the most basic—and iandequate—kind of treatment. When sewage enters the plant, it goes to a settling tank where the heavier particles are removed, and then gets dumped into the harbor after being given a shot of chlorine gas. Sanitary engineers call this process "primary treatment." Our sewage is never subjected to "secondary treatment"—a method used in other cities which can purify the sewage so well that the outflow from a sewage plant can almost be drunk.

Backing up the inefficient sewer plants is a hopelessly old-fashioned system of piping. Much of the domestic sewage in New Haven is carried by the same pipes which carry rainwater runoff from the streets. In wet weather the combined sewage and storm drainage far exceeds the capacity of the sewer plants. As a result, as much as *one-third* of the raw sewage, along with the aromatic residue on the bottom of the pipes gets dumped directly into the harbor and into rivers leading to the harbor. Even in dry weather, faulty piping and malfunctioning overflows cause extensive sewage leakages.

What does this mean in terms of the harbor? It means that with the kind of treatment New Haven gives its sewage, most of the organic material is dumped into the harbor. Inadequately treated sewage causes two main problems:

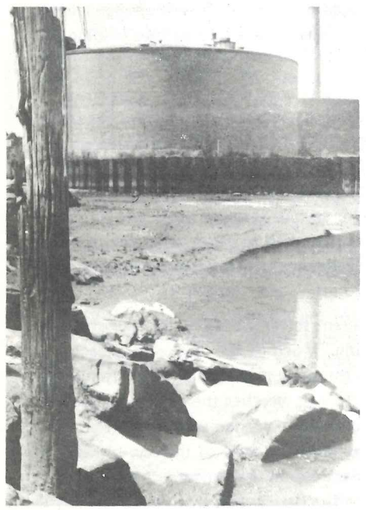
—It is a serious health hazard.

—It contributes to the oxygen depletion of the water, causing the "harbor smell."

Human sewage contains millions and millions of relatively harmless coliform bacteria—but along with these coliform bacteria are often pathogens which can cause typhoid, dysentery, paratyphoid, hepatitis and many other serious diseases. In testing for intestinal contamination in the water, the coliform bacteria are used as biological indicators. A high count of coliform bacteria in a body of water indicated the presence of inadequately treated human sewage, which may contain deadly disease organisms. Most of New Haven Harbor yields coliform counts in the poor category (see map, page 8). At City Point, for instance, the Water Resources Commission and the New Haven Science Action Group have found coliform counts of over 100,000!!

The Coliform count is used by the City and State Health Departments to rate swimming areas. The rating scale is based on the number of living coliform bacteria in 100 ml. of water (about 1/3 cup). The scale is as follows:

CLASS	RATING	AVERAGE number coliform bacteria found in 100ml. (3.04 ounces) water
A	Good	0 - 5
B	Fair	51 - 500
C	Doubtful	501-1000
D	Poor	Over 1000



City Point Sewer Plant: A landmark of the neighborhood. Wear boots and a gas mask when you visit!

Choose Your Poison

The industries in the New Haven area contribute as much to the degradation of the harbor as the domestic sewage does. Some industries, particularly the paper and meatpacking companies dump tons of organic material every day into the harbor, into streams leading to the harbor, and even into the already over-loaded sewer system. The arms, fabricated metal products, textile, and laundry industries, among others, dump a large quantity of assorted chemicals into the harbor, the streams and the sewers. Many of these chemicals are highly corrosive and toxic to people, and to plant and fish life. There are industrial wastes to suit every taste—

paper fiber	*soluble oils*	*chromic acid*
glues	*bleaches*	*sulfuric acid*
blood	*heavy metals*	*phosphoric acid*
meatscraps	*cyanide*	*caustic acid*
grease	*alkalis*	*nitric acid*
detergent	*reducing agents*	*hydrofluorosilic acid*

Clean water contains dissolved oxygen in it, oxygen which the animals in the sea need to live. But the breaking-down of sewage and industrial wastes uses up large amounts of dissolved oxygen. At present, decomposition of wastes from the city sewer system and New Haven industries removes virtually all the dissolved oxygen from the inner harbor waters. When oxygen is removed from sea water, fish die or leave in hoards, and poisonous solfur gases cause the "rotten eggs" smell that's so obvious along the Mill River and the harbor (just take a deep breath near the City Point Sewer Plant).

Depletion on New Haven Harbor Oxygen	
City sewer system: inadequately treated sewage	50%
Federal Paper Company: 14,000 pounds of paper fiber/day	10%
New Haven Board and Carton: 3000 pounds of paper fiber/day	2%
Roessler's Meatpackers: blood, meatscraps	35%
Other industries	3%

Toxic chemicals and raw sewage dumped into the harbor have had a drastic effect on the shellfish industry. Fresh clams

City Point: It looks almost good enough to swim in at high tide...

are harder to get—and more expensive—than ever before. And even if they can survive the chemicals and the low oxygen concentration in the harbor, they are far too contaminated to be eaten safely. The taking of clams is forbidden in New Haven Harbor, as it is in much of Connecticut's coastal waters.

Oysters and clams obtain their food by filtering microscopic plants and animals from gallons of seawater each day. They also filter and concentrate disease organisms from untreated sewage. Contaminated shellfish have been responsible for outbreaks of typhoid, hepatitis, and other diseases. Before oysters from New Haven Harbor can be sold, they have to be transported to the North Shore of Long Island to flush themselves out in cleaner waters.

In light of today's conditions, it is hard to believe that the first European settlers in New Haven found huge piles of shells on the shore where Indians held enormous oyster feasts. The Indians lived in harmony with the waters, and for thousands of years the harvest was renewed yearly. Our harbor has certainly come a long way—from a "new haven" to an open sewer.

Give Us Clean Water, Not A Coliseum

According to the federal Clean Water Act of 1965 and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, each state must establish and enforce water quality standards. In Connecticut the law is being administered by the State Water Resources Commission. Unfortunately, this agency is both underfinanced and understaffed. and lacks political backing necessary to

...but low tide reveals the dangers that the water was hiding.

put the screws on offending industries and force them to stop pollution.

The classic example of this lack of power is the case of Federal Paper Co. and New Haven Board and Carton Co.—the two industries that are primarily responsible for polluting the Mill River with tons of wood fibers, glue and clay each day. In Hartford there is a file of over ten years' correspondence between the State Water Resources Commission and these companies. The Commission continually grants extension after extension on orders to clean up, and the companies make token improvements that may be better on paper than in reality. The proof of the ineffectiveness of our state government enforcement is the rotten smell along the Mill River and at the mouth of the harbor where the Mill River joins the Quinnipiac.

The story is about the same for the city sewer system. The city currently stands in violation of state water quality standards. It was supposed to have installed improved (secondary treatment) sewer plants by 1969, but its deadline has been extended to 1972. Now the politicians in Hartford are indicating that it *may* be cleaned up by 1974. We wonder how clean the harbor will be even by then?

To modernize the city sewer system, including new piping and plants, would cost around $100 million. But instead, city officials plan highways like Route 34 as part of the urban removal program to kick poor people out of their homes and will build a $20 million coliseum. Given the limited resources available for construction, can we really expect such great plans to be interrupted merely to give all the people clean water?

From the state we get two contradictory indications. Some people believe that the state will come across with the $50 million New Haven says it needs by 1974. Other people doubt it because of the lack of funds at the federal level. Everybody has a timetable for cleaning up, but we know from past experience that these timetables have a funny habit of being pushedfurther and further into the future.

President Nixon has said that he is genuinely concerned about pollution and problems of human environment. However, during this current fiscal year he has planned to use only $214 million of the one billion dollars that Congress authorized for federal aid to remedy water pollution. This amounts to a little more than *one dollar* per capita for federal anti-pollution aid. New Haven's share of this money would be about $150 thousand, which hardly makes a dent in the $100 million needed to modernize New Haven's sewer system.

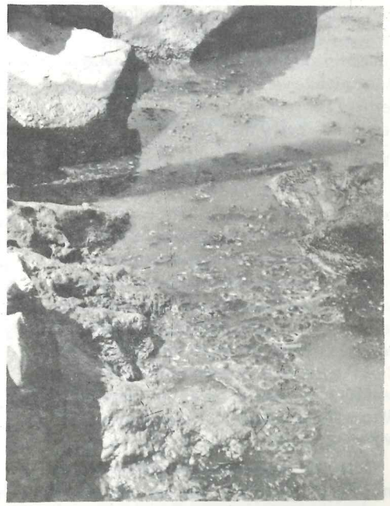
Recently the United States Senate approved the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile System) which escalates the arms race. It is a guaranteed billion-dollar profit for the aerospace contractors and a tragic waste for United States citizens. The government acknowledges spending around $400 million on research and development for chemical and germ warfare; the total expenditure for water pollution ($214 million) shows where they are at. The United States Government is spending far more to learn how to contaminate our earth with germs and nerve gas than in trying to clean it up. What kind of priorities are these? They are priorities set by big business.

The Pollution Tax (or: Every Man For Himself)

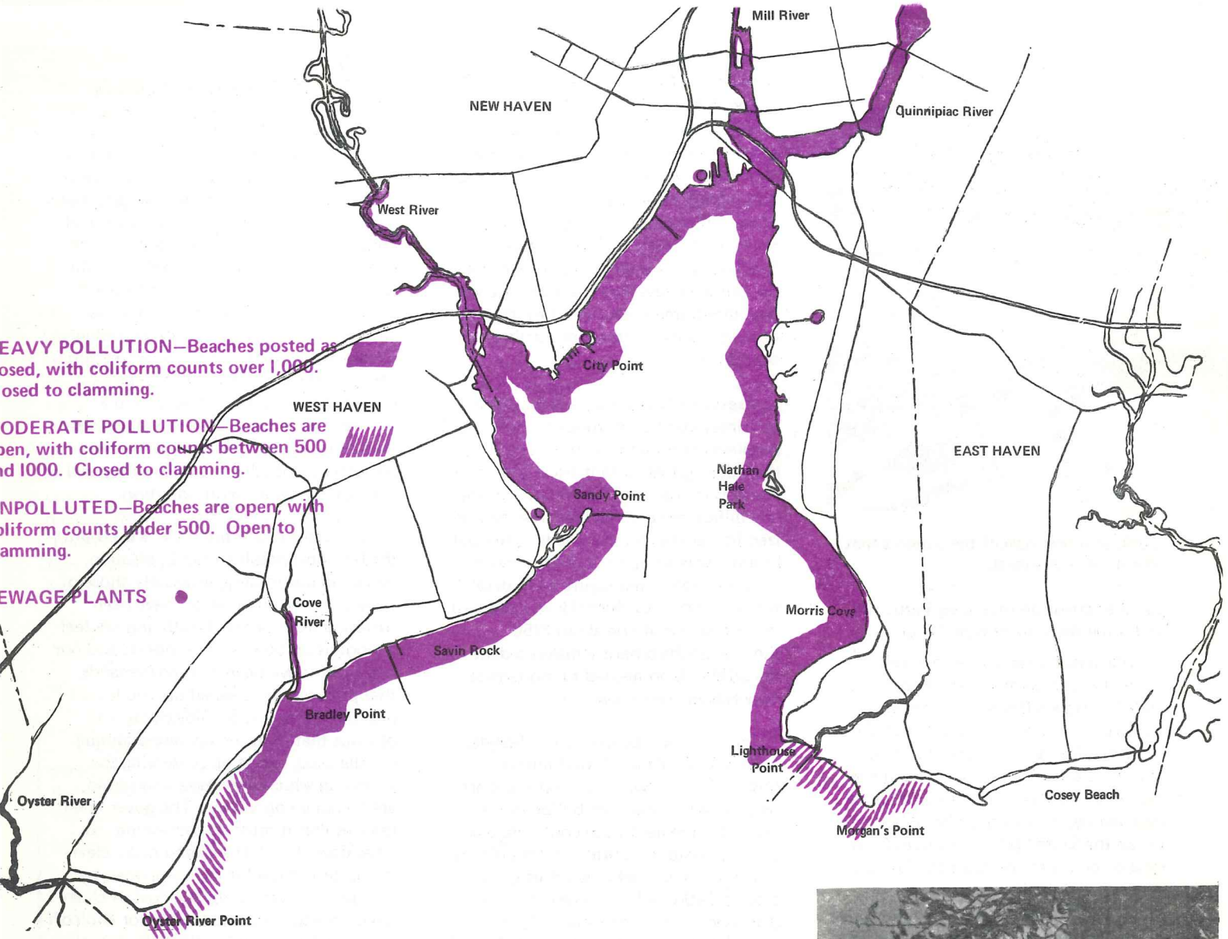
If we want to find out why coliseums and Route 34's are being planned instead of adequate sewage treatment facilities, we only need ask, where is the big money putting its influence? The most powerful group of corporations are the gas, oil and automobile manufacturers who join the highway contractors in lobbying for the construction of new highways. (Ever wonder why there is no decent mass transit system in the city?) And the business backers of the coliseum feel that they can attract money into the city and profit more by building a coliseum; sewer plants provide no profits to capitalists.

The capitalistic system of business and government practiced in New Haven and in the rest of the United States has one object: to maximize profits. If a business owner can make more money by paying his workers starvation wages, that's what he pays them. If pollution control equipment cuts into profits there is only one choice—no pollution control equipment. It's no problem for the owner if the air around the factories where his workers live reduces their life expectancy or makes the waters unfit for recreation. The owner can afford to live in an exclusive, cleaner part of town, or in a suburb. Since the motto of the businessman is every man for himself' he feels perfectly justified in making money and taxing his workers with pollution.

This same profit principal is built into the latest proposals to fight pollution. People in our society, especially those of us who live in urban areas, have been suffering from poorer health and are feeling pollution both in our pockets and our noses. We have been making demands that pollution be cleaned up. Pollution has finally become so widespread and obvious that even the upward-climbing middle class, intent on preserving the system in which they have a foothold, are complaining loudly. The government realizes that it must do something—so what does it do? It seeks to make cleaning up profitable for the companies by charging the people for the cost of cleaning up private pollution. Senator Ribicoff has introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate to



Sewage after it has been "treated" at the City Point Sewer Plant.



Sandy Point, West Haven

give tax breaks and profit incentives to companies which will install pollution-control devices. The idea is simple—the companies produce filth and make money while we pay for cleaning up. Perhaps the real motto of the big businessman is 'every man for *me*.'

Who Will Get The Harbor Cleaned Up?

It is clear that big business would rather forget pollution control and that politicians are busy supporting big businessmen by pushing wasteful but profitable projects like unneeded highways, anti-ballistic missiles, chemical and germ warfare and coliseums. How much hope is there for those of us living at City Point and on the Mill River? Will pollution be cleaned up in our lifetime? Who will help us get the clean air and water we deserve?

There is only one possibility left. We must do it for ourselves. Both Fair Haven and City Point have active pollution committees. The Fair Haven group is fighting to clean up the Mill River and the horrible air pollution from United Illuminating. At City Point the fight is against Seamless Rubber and their horrible and almost useless sewage plant. Recently in City Point, a land-fill area was created at the end of South Water Street. The big businessmen and big contractors will want to make big money from the area. The residents know that, if the harbor were cleaned up, it would make a good swimming beach. It is hard to fight against big money for the common good, and it looks like a long tough battle ahead. But if we don't fight for our right to clean air and water, no one will.

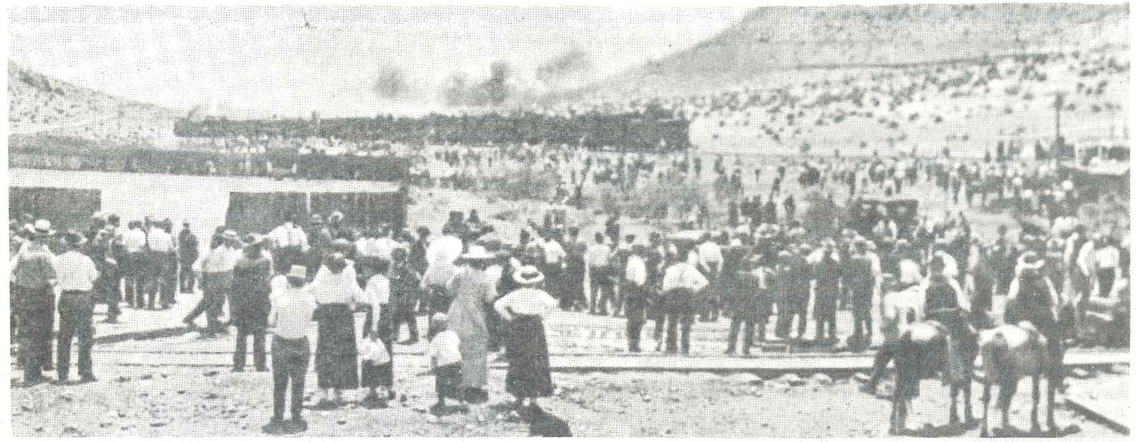
If you are interested in working on a pollution project, call:

City Point — 865-3769, 776-5803, 776-2690

Fair Haven — Betterment Association, PO Box 44

American Independent Movement (AIM) 148 Orange St. 787-0123

New Haven Science Action Group 550 Osborn Memorial Laboratory, Yale



Striking miners being deported from Bisbee, Arizona, to the desert of New Mexico, July, 1917. The Wobblies by Patrick Renshaw (Photo

U.S. Government vs. The Workers 1915-20

by Stephen Mick

"For the Record" is an occasional feature about important but neglected aspects of the history of the people of the United States.

Cooperation between the federal government and big business against the interests of the working man and the unemployed has a long and dreary history in America. Federal politicians, under pressure from big business, have used many different agencies, including the forces of the U.S. Army, to suppress working men trying to improve the conditions of their lives.

Although we see daily the suppression by the American power-structure of struggles in black communities, on college campuses, and in underdeveloped nations, it is easy to forget that federal forces have been used in the past against white working-class Americans.

A clear illustration of federal intervention in labor struggles occurred between 1915 and 1920. With the outbreak of World War I, the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and the beginnings of anti-radical madness, a great variety of government and military activities were directed at attempting to crush militant workers and organizers. Today, faced with a costly and unpopular war, with increasing unrest in urban ghettoes, and with the rise of a new radical community throughout America, the federal government has already begun to repeat many activities which it engaged in over half a century ago. Can we learn anything from this history?

Workers In Cages

The shocking example of the Bisbee, Arizona deportation shows the extent to which suppression of workers has gone — and can go again—under the "free enterprise system".

During World War I, Arizona copper miners, who produced 28% of the nation's copper, were under tremendous speedup pressure to produce the ore so important for the large corporations' war effort. In the summer months of 1917, miners throughout the state decided to strike for the following demands:

—for safety's sake, at least two men work together on certain kinds of equipment

—sliding scale wages be abolished and replaced by flat minimum wages,

—there be no discrimination against members of labor organizations.

Sensible demands like these went against the wishes of giant copper corporations like Phelps-Dodge and Anaconda, which were making extra high profits from the war demand.

The copper miners were forced to strike. The struggle in Bisbee reached a peak on July 12, 1917, when some 1200 miners, many of whom were Wobblies (members of the IWW) were pulled out of their beds in the early dawn hours, herded into filthy railroad cattle cars, and shipped off to an army stockade in the New Mexico desert.

But the military authorities had received no orders to accept the caged miners, who had been rounded up by the Bisbee sheriff and a group of civilian vigilantes called the Bisbee Loyalty League. So the miners were sent back toward Bisbee; but the train was abandoned by the engineer in the desert.

The governor of New Mexico, hearing of the incident, persuaded the army stockade to provide food and shelter to the miners, who had been jammed in the cattle cars under the blazing sun for some 60 hours. The miners were held at the stockade without charge for three months before being released.

It is important to note that, even without direct cooperation between the Bisbee copper owners and the federal troops in New Mexico, workers were deprived of basic civil rights and access to civilian legal counsel. Most important, they were totally prevented from organizing against the copper corporations.

The vicious incident came to the attention of President Woodrow Wilson, and he ordered an investigation of it. The investigating commission reported that 426 of the miners were Wobblies, 352 AFL members, and 360 non-unionists. But the intervention of the liberal president's commission accomplished less than nothing. Later 21 members of the Bisbee Loyalty League who had been indicted by a Federal jury were released without being convicted. There was no justice for the miners.

Was the Bisbee incident unusual in labor history? Not at all. Throughout Arizona, federal troops were called out to guard copper pits and smelters from the activities of striking miners. In the towns of Jerome, Morenci, Glove, Miami, Superior, and Ajo, troops supposedly neutral in labor disputes were housed by the heads of the mines. The command-

ing officers were wined and dined by the bosses themselves.

In effect, federal troops guaranteed the continued flow of profits for the bosses while strikers were persecuted and shipped off and while GI's were being slaughtered on the battlefields of France.

Persecution of Aliens and Radicals

It is important to understand the relation of the Bisbee deportation and many other labor disputes to anti-radical and anti-immigrant sentiment throughout the United States. Especially in the Western states, the corporation bosses and the federal government, notably the Justice Department, became more and more alarmed by the militancy of organized labor, particularly the Wobblies.

Even before the turn of the century, attempts had been made to pass deportation laws against the growing numbers of immigrants. In the 1893 case of *Fong Yue Ting vs. the United States,* the Supreme Court stated that deportation was not a punishment for a crime but merely an administrative process for returning of unwelcome and "undesirable" immigrant residents to their own countries. Therefore, guarantees of the Bill of Rights were denied to many unfortunate immigrants. By the time World War I had broken out, the Supreme Court decision was well-entrenched in administrative procedure and implemented by the Immigration Bureau against all sorts of "undesirables," including anarchists.

Attention turned to the deportation of Wobblies. Up until this time, the Immigration Bureau was accustomed to attacking and deporting the unorganized and solitary individual. When the procedures were used against organized workers, they were ineffective. Government officials were surprised and disoriented by the willingness of the Wobblies to fight for their rights.

Additional confusion between the Departments of Labor and Justice only hindered efforts to wipe out radicalism. On the one hand, the Department of Labor knew that cheap foreign labor was essential for the operation of American factories so that wages could be kept down as low as possible. There was plenty of pressure from capitalists to insure this flow of labor.

On the other hand, the Department of Justice was under pressure to rid the country of "radical immigrants" who were thought to be the sole instigators of labor organizing. It was the mistaken belief of many in power that ideas of militant labor organizing came from outside America and that no native or naturalized citizen would think of rising up against his employer. Therefore, the anti-labor legislation that was passed was distinctly anti-immigrant.

This sort of legislation ultimately failed because it did not deal with the fact that radicalism was home grown, that it was "American". Corporations and the government were unable or unwilling to understand that radicalism was a response to economic deprivation and miserable working conditions, not some "foreign" invention forced on the American working class.

The fact that many radicals were devoted Americans was evidenced by a look at the allegiances of deported Bisbee miners. Over one-half were native-born or naturalized citizens; 62 had served with the armed forces; 472 were registered with the military service; 205 had bought Liberty Bonds, and 520 subscribed to the Red Cross. But, when profits were threatened, big business and government forgot patriotism, and herded the working people off into the desert.

Therefore, while many immigrants were deported and others held in jail without finally being deported, radicalism grew, militance increased, organizing continued. There was only one way for the federal authorities to react: send in the army.

At Butte, Montana, troops invaded IWW headquarters and held Wobblies for several weeks without charges. Troops there were active in the lynching of Wobbly organizer Frank Little in August, 1917. Throughout the state of Washington, troops invaded IWW halls jailing dozens of Wobblies. By September 1920, the U.S. Army had put down 29 civil disorders. In sum, the U.S. Army provided the direct action that the corporations and war hysteria demanded and that other federal agencies were too slow to provide.

The Palmer Raids

The intervention of federal troops was often vicious and quick-hitting. Yet, it failed to provide for big business and government the long-range destruction of radical labor groups that they wanted.

Immediately after the war, federal troops were removed from the copper mines, from the timber-producing regions of the Pacific Northwest, and from farm-producing regions of California. National Guards assumed this responsibility but were not as effective as regular federal troops. Nevertheless, a precedent had been established for federal intervention, and Attorney-General Mitchell A. Palmer was to exploit this precedent in one of the most massive roundups of labor and radical organizers in American history.

From January 2 to January 6, 1920, more than 10,000 political and labor organizers in over 40 cities were hauled into police vans and off to jail and held without recourse to legal aid for three months. In Connecticut alone, the cities of Ansonia, Bridgeport, Hartford, Meriden and Waterbury witnessed the detention of dozens of foreign-born and radical organizers, many of them Italian-American. Their only crime was believing that workers should control the wealth they produced and that the unemployed should be given jobs. Today we still have the heritage of the Palmer Raids to remember since the number two man in the federal operation was none other than the anti-labor J.Edgar Hoover.

The final outcome of federal intervention into radical labor organizations was

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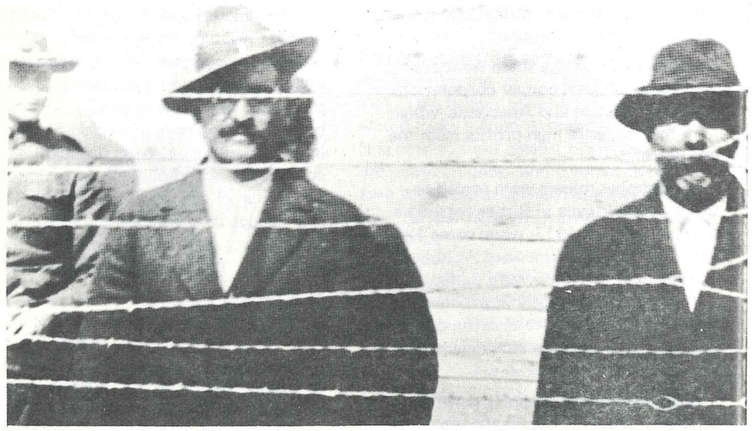

Victims of Palmer raids. 10,000 foreign-born arrested, held without charges for three months. **The Inheritance** , AFL-CIO book (Photo)

NEWS BRIEFS

GUIDA NOMINATED, Continued from page 2

ence of lead poisoning and rat infestation. Several were members of the Farnum Courts Tenants Council.

The vote: Guida 52, Daniels 10, Parker 9, Gill 2.

Barbieri orders Parker demonstrator away from podium where Lee is speaking. According to the Sunday, July 13, *New York Times:* "Mr. Barbieri summed up his political philosophy succinctly: 'I'm for the guy who gets the most votes. I always said I could go out and select any guy on the street and in one week make him a real contender for political office.' "

John Bancroft (photo)

In his acceptance speech, Guida emphasized the exodus of families to the suburbs as the city's major problem. This exodus, he said, was caused by slums and poor educational facilities. He promised a high priority on low and middle-income units. He said that we must make it *profitable* for private enterprise to build low-income housing.

Guida closed his speech by stating that his nomination was made in a "free and open meeting." He closed to the tune of "God Bless America."

Who has benefited from Guida's nomination? One by one most of the party regulars and elected officials lined up because of promises of future city contracts or threats of loss of jobs and patronage. It is no accident that Guida can draw support from the businessmen in the city: he is a wealthy real estate agent.

John Daniels has dropped out of the race. Henry Parker and Charles Gill will challenge Guida's nomination in the primary. Gill, who only received two votes at the convention, seems to have considerable financial support (witness his frequent full page ads in the local papers).

The relevance of the nominating procedure to most people's lives is difficult to discern. How does a Bartholomew Guida get to be a party-endorsed candidate or how does one get to run a primary against him? The few people with money essentially decide who runs for office; the rest of us just vote. Our problems—low wages, poor housing and pollution—will not be solved by party rhetoric and will probably have grown more acute two years from now, when the same people will again decide who runs for mayor.

—Matt Borenstein

GOVERNMENT VS. WORKERS

continued from last page

determined not by the Labor Department, nor the state National Guards, nor even the federal troops, but rather by the Justice Department. Only a gigantic roundup of organizers by the Bureau of Investigation, the forerunner of the F.B.I., was sufficient to crush militant activity.

Liberals Irrelevant to Radical Efforts

A liberal position on the labor unrest of the period from 1915 to 1920 would emphasize the importance of reformers like Hiram Johnson, Governor of California, or Labor Secretary W.B. Wilson, himself a former member of the United Mine Workers. It has been noted that many judges took offense at the heavy-handed operations of the U.S. Army, the Immigration Bureau, and the Attorney-General's office. There was even a highly-polished statement of condemnation of the Palmer Raids from 12 lawyers and the professors of the Harvard Law School.

It is true that relatively few of the indictments of the Palmer Raids ever stuck, and that relatively few of the prisoners were finally deported. Much credit is usually given to the opposition by the Department of Labor to Attorney-General Palmer's detention of the radicals. In general, there was an abundance of liberal activity from 1915-20.

On the other hand, "progressives" like Hiram Johnson eventually used the National Guard against the Wobblies at the request of large California farmers. And, while liberal sentiment rose against the perpetrators of the Palmer Raids, it must be recognized that the Wobblies were changed from a militant labor organization to a legal defense association, fighting for its very life.

The parallel with the Black Panther Party and other militant groups today is hard to avoid. Valuable time that could have been used organizing workers was lost and energies were wasted in years of internal turmoil brought on by the crushing moves of the federal government. In effect, anti-labor, anti-radical, anti-immigrant forces won.

Arizona Governor Hunt had said that "...the concept that...labor and capital... are inherently antagonistic is an economic illusion that needs dispelling." Had a Wobbly sweltering in a cattlecar in the New Mexico desert under the mid-July sun heard these words he might have countered with the words of the preamble of the IWW constitution:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.

And he might have agreed with the 1913 Wobbly statement that: "At all times it is the rulers who, being in power, are in a position to determine in great measure just how and when the struggle will be fought....It is the employing class and their agencies who provoke violence and then cry out the loudest against it."

Sources:
W.R. Adams, History of Arizona, Vol. II; *Message of* Geo. W.P. Hunt Governor of Arizona to the Second State Legislature, *Jan. 11, 1915; William Preston, Jr.,* Aliens and Dissenters; *Patrick Renshaw,* The Wobblies; *John V. Young, "When They Rounded Up the 'Wobblies'",* National Observer, *Oct. 9, 1967.*

For more complete history of IWW strikes see AIM Newsletter *series, Vol. 4, Nos. 4, 6, 8,9,10.*

FOR THE RECORD

We are looking for people who want to work on a people's history of New Haven during the next several months.

Some of New Haven's most important history has never been written down. It is in the memories of the men and women who lived through the changes and were a part of them. We need people who will talk to their neighbors about how things used to be and how their community grew. We need people to seek out the men and women who took part in the early labor struggles or political campaigns in this area and to record the stories they have to tell.

We also need people willing to do library work and go through old records to dig up information that will contribute to a radical and analytical history of the New Haven area.

A people's history has many parts. Some of the parts we want to work on are:
- Labor history
- History of Yale's relationship to the community
- Ruling-class history
- Political history
- Physical history
- Ethnic histories
- Industrial and economic history
- History of each neighborhood

If you will help, or if you have material, including pictures and old maps that will contribute to the history, contact coordinators Harris Stone, 389-2979 or Gail Falk, 776-6864, or call the AIM office, 787-0123.

HELP NORTHERN IRELAND!

The working people of Northern Ireland are fighting to gain their civil rights. They need food, clothing, housing, and medical supplies. This is not a struggle between religious groups; it is a class struggle. Both Catholics and Protestants need aid. You can help by sending a contribution to:

Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland
P.O. Box 5044
Hamden, Conn. 06518

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538 STATE STREET NEW HAVEN 787-5049

COMING NEXT WEEK: SPECIAL EDITION NEWSLETTER
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HOW THEY VIEW:

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Education	Community Control	Taxes

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